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the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country.

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death.

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight.

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems.

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*).

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief,

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705 422 a member of the warriors' section, and a member of the herdsmen's section.

The mwami could effectively dispose of the *nyambo* and *mabara*. *Nyambo* were cows which had some marked physical characteristics (as for instance long horns). The mere fact that [43] beasts had such characteristics gave the king exclusive rights of disposal of them whatever may have been the previous rights of other people over them. Many lyrical poems were devoted to the [825] praise of *nyambo* in which they are divided into two 'clans', the brown one (*ibihogo*) and the red-brown (*amagaju*) which were supposed to be in a permanent state of war.[17] A herd of *nyambo* numbered about fifty cows. There were not *nyambo* with every army. *Mabara* were ordinary cows, not fulfilling the *nyambo* qualifications, and of which the mwami had the effective disposal. One or several herds of *nyambo* and *mabara* were entrusted by the king only to certain armies.

The cows over which the army-chief had the rights of effective disposal were also considered, according to ninety-six per cent. of our informants, as army cattle and were tended by the army herdsmen.

Cattle at the effective disposal of each member of the herdsmen's section of the army were also regarded as army cattle. Here we have to distinguish between cattle possessed as a client and cattle not obtained from a lord (ninety-two per cent. of our informants said that one could have cattle which were not received from a lord). The former kind of cattle were linked to the lord's army and not to the client's army although the client had the right of usufruct and of effective disposal (as defined here) over that cattle. The latter kind of cattle was composed of cows obtained by exchange (*impahano*) which were regarded as army cows according to ninety-five per cent. of our informants; of cows given by the prospective husband to his father-in-law (*indogoranyo*) also according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as reward for brave conduct in war (*ingororano mu ntambara*) again according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as gifts (*inka z'ubuntu*) according to ninety-six per cent. Cows not kept by somebody as a client were called by the generic name of *imbata*, or, according to sixty-two per cent. of our informants, the mwami's cows (*inka z'umwami*), which is confusing.

[17] Kagame, 1947b, p. 792.

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now.

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(d) Tribute due by the army

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits.

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.